

# PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 635

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THREE PENCE

## THE FOLLY OF THE WAR

It is no doubt disturbing to a political movement when it finds its past pronouncements proved wrong: it is sometimes far more disturbing to have them proved incredibly right.

We pacifists have not, perhaps, always taken ourselves as seriously as we might have done. When, at the beginning of the war and during the conflict, we made certain prophecies about the likely course of events if the war was allowed to continue, the prophecies were sincere enough, and we knew that they were true. But their truth was theoretical, there for anyone to establish by logical analysis, and not the result of any peculiar prophetic vision. So that, although it

### COMMENTARY

By CYRIL HUGHES

was clear that truth would eventually out, most of us, I think, expected the process to be an indirect, a not too clearly defined one. The pacifist case, we felt, was likely to be vindicated retrospectively, some time after events whose significance would probably not be apparent at the time.

### FN Baedeker to Europe

It has not turned out like that. Present events amply justify the deliberate simplification and debunking of the history of the past ten years adopted by even the most cynical amongst us. The files of Peace News provide, for those willing to seek, a Baedeker to the Europe of today.

When pacifists asserted that war could not destroy tyranny but could, at best, only substitute one tyranny

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

### LEYTON RICHARDS

PEACE NEWS reports with regret the death of another pacifist leader, the Rev. Leyton Richards, a founder and former general secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Leyton Richards was born in Sheffield, educated in America and at Oxford. He became a Congregational minister, was for 17 years at Carrs Lane, Birmingham. During the war he was Warden of the Quaker Woodbrooke Settlement. He was married and had three daughters.

A memorial article about Leyton Richards will appear in next week's Peace News.

### In Sweden's Election

## WOMEN CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE

From a Correspondent

THE idea of submitting a questionnaire to prospective Members of Parliament has been taken up in Sweden where a General Election is being held on September 19. The Election is an important one, and may decide whether or not Sweden is to join the Western Bloc; and at least one enthusiastic worker for peace is resolved to make sure that the electors know what they are voting for.

Fru Ebba Tranaeus has formed a Swedish League of Women, whose immediate objective is to approach each of the parliamentary candidates, personally if possible, with some such questions as:

- 1 What task do you consider more important for the Swedish people than securing peace?
- 2 Do you consider the proportion of 1,000,000,000 Kroner spent on defence preparations to 45,000 Kroner spent on peace-work correct?
- 3 What measure, other than expenditure on

### 'Nothing Justifies the Taking Up of Arms'

## 'SINGAPORE' CHAPLAIN DENOUNCES ALL WAR

### Call to work for one world

CHAPLAIN to the 2nd Cambridgeshires during their captivity after the fall of Singapore, the Rev. J. N. Duckworth told his congregation at an Old Contemptibles' service that he was now quite certain that nothing justified one nation taking up arms against another.

"War is the curse of humanity," Mr. Duckworth declared in an impassioned sermon. "It is a terrible tragedy that men and women throughout the world are meditating the question of whether we shall be hurtled headlong into another disaster which, with the progress in atomic power, will certainly mean the end of the Western world if not the rest of the world which we know."

The British people's duty in the present situation was, he

believed, that of acting as priests, prophets and ministers to the rest of the world. The call to this country today was for people who were prepared to forget nationalism and nationality and give their lives in a new cause, and one greater than any war—that of working for One World.

"History has shown us that men spend more time in war than in any other pursuit," Mr. Duckworth said. "We are living in an age today in which the whole human spirit needs stirring up. Reports from all over the world tell us there is

a new slogan expressed in the words: 'I couldn't care less.'

### SPIRIT DEFEATED

"It is the defeat of the spirit," he continued. "It is the evidence of despair and fear, activated by hatred, envy and greed in men's hearts, which is lulling them into the last stages of spiritual, moral and physical decay."

Mr. Duckworth concluded, reports the Cambridge Independent Press, by pointing out that, though people everywhere wanted peace, they would never get it if they were at war with themselves, or with God. To escape from themselves they would even lose their lives by going to war with anybody, "Russia, Germany, or what you will."

### Why was Atom Bomb Dropped?

### "CROCKFORD" ALLEGATION ATTACKED IN PULPIT

From his pulpit last Sunday, the Rector of Acton, the Rev. Percival Gough, criticised the anonymous author of this year's Crockford Clerical Directory Preface, which alleges that the Japanese were about to massacre all Allied prisoners of war when the atom bomb was dropped.

"NO responsible writer should say this unless he can confirm it," the rector declared. No confirmation has been provided: Ministers concerned at the time deny the allegation.

"I thought the Bishops should have condemned the atom bomb lock, stock and barrel," Mr. Gough said. "If we have noble ends, we should use noble means."

"The existence of the atom bomb presented a dilemma which I should not like to have been faced with. But I would be crucified rather than inflict that punishment on others."

Crockford's Directory, reports the Daily Express, had not been published at the time of the rector's attack. It is to be issued this week-end.

national defence, would you first of all like Parliament to take in order to secure peace?

- 4 The relations between individuals within each society are governed by laws, safeguarded by a police-force. Do you consider that the relations between nations should be similarly governed?
- 5 Do you consider the absolute sovereignty of nations to be more important than the peace of the world?

When I met Fru Tranaeus in Stockholm last week, she was surprised by the support already forthcoming for her League. So many unmarried women wished to join in the campaign, she said, that she has been forced to create a Group of Sympathisers as well. While we were talking, she was joined by the celebrated novelist, Fru Elin Wagner, who also expressed her interest and support.

"This campaign," she explained, "is only a beginning. The League, I hope, will continue in being, and perhaps be affiliated to the Förening för Mellanfolkligt Samarbete (the

Swedish "National Peace Council"), Women have a big part to play in the struggle for peace, and Sweden, which has suffered so little from war, has a particularly big responsibility. If we are not working for peace every day of our lives, we are not fit to live."

This idea of submitting a questionnaire is not new. It was tried recently in Italy by Signora Anna Mazzioti di Celso, who addressed the following three questions to every candidate before the election:—

- 1 Do you think that peace will continue between the Parties after the election, so that our lives will not be jeopardised by ideological conflicts? Will you work for this?
- 2 Do you think Italy can play the part of mediator to lessen the tension between East and West which is making for war? And if so, how can you help to ensure this?
- 3 Do you think we ought to give our children such an education in future as will develop in them an attitude towards humanity which fits them to be world citizens and makes them proof against leader-worship and extreme nationalism?

### SALUDAMOS A NUESTROS LECTORES CASTELLANOS

PEACE News se publica en Inglaterra pero se lee en el mundo entero. Esperamos en el futuro ganar más amigos en más países extranjeros pues el ideal a que se dedica Peace News podrá ser realizado solo cuando la unidad básica de la humanidad habrá triunfado de la discordia entre estados-naciones.

Miramos hacia un mundo donde no habrá más guerras y hacia el establecimiento de una comunidad humana nueva. Esperamos que ustedes se interesarán en Peace News y les mandamos nuestros fraternales saludos de parte de nuestro diario y del movimiento a que pertenece.

## Hunger Creates a Strange New Man

THE European crisis has for a long time now been something more than a political crisis, and those of us who have lived for any time in the midst of it have had brought home to us very clearly that a complete transformation of Western man is in progress. None can say where that transformation is leading us.

Look, for a start, at the externals, and it will strike the eye of an attentive observer that a new type of man is emerging. It is not easy to describe the specific characteristics of this new man: he is curiously grey

### By PASTOR NIEMOLLER

(Exclusive to PEACE NEWS)

and colourless in appearance; without animation, and angular of his movements; reserved, not generous in his reactions; sensitive and suspicious in his emotional make-up; tenacious and intense in his determination; narrow and limited in his outlook.

Assuredly, this is a novel species. Hitherto it has not existed in Europe, but it is becoming more and more common today, and one day it will create the New Society.

### FOOLS THE SCIENTISTS

Yes, there is a new type of man among us; I shall call him the Fifteen Hundred Calory Man. His very existence makes fools of yesterday's medical scientists, proves that in practice it is not imperative after all for a man to have a minimum diet of twenty-four hundred calories. His existence proves that a man can adapt himself progressively to a sentient existence with only fifteen-hundred calories. Under-nourishment does not destroy him.

His development is like that of a blade of wheat, which, trained and disciplined, can propagate itself in conditions, geographical and climatical, in which no wheat had hitherto been able to grow. The yield of such wheat is feeble, short in the stem and puny in every way, but it lives all the same and maintains itself although the conditions have been said to be quite insufficient to nurture and nourish it.

Unless I am mistaken, that is a process analogous to the human transformation which is being achieved today in Germany. That which is weak and cannot find the strength needed to adapt itself to a way of life that is more hazardous and basically different from that to which it is accustomed succumbs to the process of elimination; the element which can find the strength to do without what it has hitherto regarded as necessities of life can survive. Can survive, that is, through an existence which, though more frugal and austere, is also more intense and emotional. The stronger element has to draw upon its last energies to resist the physical extinction by which the weaker has been overtaken.



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## The Field Marshal and General Famine

IT does not often happen, but the other day it did. Viscount Montgomery, Field Marshal and Chief of the Imperial General Staff, put forward in his speech at Blackpool an argument which had been advanced the week before in the columns of Peace News.

"There is a powerful and insidious general that we have to defeat—General Famine," the Field Marshal said. "If we don't he may yet lead us into another world conflict."

It is good to find ourselves in warm agreement with so influential a public figure. But given this agreement, where does it lead us? Lord Montgomery evidently believes that we can beat General Famine while at the same time preparing ourselves for a third world war. He has made a number of speeches in recent weeks calling for an expansion of Britain's territorial forces, and he would presumably desire a comparable expansion of scientific services for national defence. The question that arises is: can Britain—or even America for that matter—afford to prepare herself for two sorts of war, the war against hunger and the third world war?

We assert emphatically that she cannot. If the Field Marshal seriously means, as we pray he does, his call for a fight against General Famine, he must, as a strategist, tell us how it is to be undertaken.

If he can show us how General Famine can be conquered without calling any halt to the arms race, well and good. We shall be thankful to hear it. So too will Sir John Boyd Orr, who has watched with a heavy heart the resources that might have been devoted to the conquest of hunger, given instead to the organisation of war.

We suspect that Lord Montgomery does not appreciate the magnitude of the problem. For centuries hitherto the starvation of Asia's millions has been taken as a *datum*, an unfortunate thing, but something about which nothing could be done. Even relief has been regarded as wasted, since the more the Asiatic poor are kept alive the more poor Asiatics are born, and thus to relieve hunger at one point was only to create more hunger for the future.

It is against this background that Communism is now sweeping to victory in the Far East, sweeping with a force far greater than any that has made itself felt in Europe.

The alternative to Communism in Asia is some other answer to Asia's material needs. We say material needs advisedly, for we have had more than enough talk in two centuries of Bible-punching missionary efforts of Asia's spiritual needs. In the present state of the world it is America's spiritual needs that call out for particular ministration. Asia's need is for enough to eat.

Western science could, we believe, provide the answer to Asia's material needs. Not easily, and not perhaps for a good many years to come. But given a *total* effort, a struggle against General Famine on the scale of the recent war against German generals, victory would surely crown our efforts.

If Lord Montgomery's call to this struggle is to be answered, he must waive his call for a bigger army and more military preparedness. We do not say this because as pacifists we have a particular desire to promote disarmament, but because it is a hard fact of world economy that *both* Lord Montgomery's demands cannot be satisfied. It must be war against hunger or war between mankind. We cannot at the same time prepare effectively for the one as well as the other.

## Letters from Denmark—II

# RELATIONS WITH GERMANY

IN the North of Zealand there is a school. No doubt there are hundreds, but the one I visited the other day is unique. The principal is a young Dane; the pupils are German boys, arrived in Denmark less than three weeks ago.

The youngest of these boys, who looks about ten years old and is actually sixteen, used to live in the Soviet sector of Berlin, but finding that little to his taste, set off one day last year and walked clean over the Soviet Zone into the British!

Another is a refugee from East Prussia. He told me how he and his family, like thousands of others, had packed their goods and chattels into a waggon and driven day and night before the advancing Russian armies until they reached the comparative safety of South Schleswig. That was three years ago. Ever since they had been quartered in a Displaced Persons' camp.

Others had similar tales to tell, and on one or two of their faces, I thought, traces of the past could still be read, though Danish food and the cheerful atmosphere of the school were already beginning to tell.

### AGRICULTURAL TRAINING

These boys have been sent to Denmark under a new scheme, sponsored by the Red Cross. Originally the idea was to afford young farmers, like the lad from East Prussia, an opportunity to study and practice Danish agriculture, with a view to re-settling them on the land in Germany. But for some reason I could not quite fathom, it had been changed; and now enterprising youths of any occupation or none are being brought over to complete their sadly shattered secondary education.

These boys still only speak German, and they are not allowed into the near-by towns unaccompanied. When I asked the principal why, he told me it was for their sakes: there was still a great deal of bitterness against Germans in many parts of Denmark, and they might be exposed to insult if not assault.

"We had a struggle to get them here at all," he said. "Most of those

## By F. A. LEA

who took part in the Resistance were in favour of it; but there are others who are quite incapable of discriminating between one German and another. Yet what responsibility could any of these youngsters have had for the Occupation? That one," he added, pointing to a tall, dark, rather melancholy-looking twenty-year-old, "actually had a Jewish grandmother, and for that reason was excluded from every organisation while he was at school."

### "MURDERER'S CANARY"

It is easy enough to sympathise with the general Danish desire to see and hear nothing of Germans. Denmark may have been "the murderer's canary," as Mr. Churchill said; certainly it suffered less during the war than Norway or any of the other Nazi-occupied countries.

In North Jutland, I am told, the farmers actually took pity on the young soldiers isolated in their convict towers along the coast (looking out for the British air-borne armada which never came) and invited them into their homes. But when you have seen the exhibition of photographs and relics of the Resistance, which it is intended to keep permanently open in Copenhagen, you realise what cause for bitterness there has been.

Moreover, no sooner had the Reichswehr evacuated the country than a fresh German invasion took place, by sea—of refugees from the Eastern Territories, constituting a heavy burden on a nation of only 4,000,000 souls. Some of these refugees still remain, interned in camps to the south—quite well treated by all accounts, but not allowed to mix with the people or even earn their keep on the land, lest the Danish Government should lose its case for their earliest possible repatriation.

It is not altogether surprising that a movement has come into being de-

## HARVEST TIME

INDIVIDUAL responsibility in preventing war was repeatedly stressed at the International Congress on Mental Health which ended last week.

The Lambeth Conference of Bishops could do no other than re-affirm their 1930 belief that war "is incompatible with the teaching and example" of Jesus—adding a "but" which merely served to emphasise the truth of their first statement.

Only a few of these men and women had dared to proclaim these truths in wartime, for the psychiatrists were too busy sterilising the consciences of soldiers; the bishops, blessing bombers and battleships.

The task of re-educating psychiatrists and bishops is one small part of the work of Peace News. Will you send a thank-offering this week to the PN Fund if you have seen evidence that our work is bearing fruit. And remember that sowing also takes place at harvest time: buy an extra copy and leave it on the 'bus.

### THE EDITOR

Contributions since Aug. 13: £5 9s. 4d.  
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manding the incorporation of South-Schleswig, with its Danish minority, into the Kingdom: a movement which exploits and thrives upon lingering animosity.

Nevertheless, the magnanimity of so many Danes is only the more impressive. In Copenhagen, the small Quaker community took the initiative in forming a Committee for European Relief, which has given assistance to the needy in allied and ex-enemy countries impartially, on a scale which is truly remarkable in proportion to the size of the country. And there are citizens, like my friend the principal of this school, who look beyond the impulses, whether vengeful or generous, of the moment.

### KEY TO DEMOCRACY

"We have to learn the lesson of the last thirty years," he said. "When the Weimar Republic was put up, it was thought that democracy depended upon constitutions. Now we know that it depends upon democrats. Bring up the right sort of people, and institutions will look after themselves. That is the task we are addressing ourselves to."

And then, in a burst of confidence which suddenly assured me he was speaking from the heart and not merely from the head—that the word "re-education," had he used it, would have had none of the smug connotation it has acquired elsewhere—"You know," he exclaimed, "I have only been with these boys a matter of days, and yet already each of them is dear to me!"

## South Africa

THE segregation of the white and black races of which Tom Everard writes so glibly is absolutely impossible in the South Africa of today or tomorrow, for the whole economy of the country is based on Native Labour. There can be no progressive peasantry if male labour, is away and that is what happens when a Native has to leave his land in order to make money to pay his taxes.

If Tom Everard's "black" states are to be successful then he must let all the males leave the mine compounds and the huts at the bottom of the European gardens and return to their kraals where they can develop their land properly. And much more land it would have to be, for every authority admits that the reserves are overcrowded.

The only hope for South Africa is to develop the country agriculturally and industrially. This can be done only by the education and co-operation of the Native.

It is true that if the Native had equal franchise with the European people the white would be outnumbered, but some scheme whereby races as well as individuals are represented fairly could be devised; this could follow on from fair treatment of the Native but the present selfish and shortsighted policy can only lead to impoverishment and strife in a country which could be rich and happy and an example to the world.

MARGERY JONES.

4, Medland Ave.,  
Coventry.

## The dangers of a cult

AS I belong to the Order of Mariavites—an international movement on community lines very much

larger than the Bruderhof—may I say from experience that I am sure the Bruderhof is on the right lines. Mr. Ashton Jones complains of the Bruderhof costume, but a distinct people with a distinct message rightly wear a distinct dress. Would Mr. Jones criticise the Salvation Army? We wear the Franciscan habit. Mr.

## LETTERS

Jones is surely criticising the Bruderhof for being the Bruderhof.

When we see what has happened to those pacifist communities which had nothing to unite them but their pacifism we can be thankful that some have more than that and that they have a cult, for a cult means a worship and it is worship of the living God which binds and makes community. It must have a centre or it is a mere collection of eccentrics. Read *Journal of a Husbandman* by Ronald Duncan.

The Mariavites have shown that community is possible without family life being spoiled, for families can live in houses or vaults and still live in community.

N. AUGUSTYN FRANCIS.  
(Bishop Elect)

Ipswich.

## Marxism

BEHIND the facade of the capitalist world with its professions of "spiritual values," there lies a crude materialism, barbarism, dollar and pound values, and "bourgeoisie respectability." Whatever criticisms can or may be levelled at Marx or the USSR—and there are many, they can never be equalled by the terrible

and horrible spectacle of a so-called "Christian civilisation," which is today living on death while the open denial of every single tenet of the Christian Gospels is accepted as right, even by so-called pacifists.

Private property is the source of evil, because it draws its strength from unpaid labour; social institutions rest upon that basis and create the power complex which of necessity must lead to violence.

Unfortunately the PPU cannot recognise these facts because its members are middle class people—afraid of war, but perfectly content with the existing order of things.

N. R. MURRAY.

Edinburgh.

## Wednesday evening at Peace News . . .

Every Wednesday evening a few generous folk take turns to assist us despatch the paper. It's a practical job for peace, and more helpers are needed. Will you come too?

Please write or 'phone

PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, N.4

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## LONDON AREA PPU

September 5, 1948

3 p.m.: Council Meeting for PPU Members.  
4.30 p.m.: American Tea.  
5 p.m.: Open Session, Speaker: DEREK KARTUN, Foreign Editor, Daily Worker.  
"Is it possible to save the peace?"  
6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



# Have Americans the strength

## to lead us?

Mr. Geoffrey Gorer, writes *Peace News* reviewer Francis Cotton, is an English anthropologist, the author of the excellent "Africa Dances." Ill health sent him away from the tropics, where he had studied primitive societies, and over to the United States, where for nine years, in the intervals of other jobs, he studied the world's most up-to-date society. The result is another book, "The Americans," the boldest, the wittiest and the best that has yet been written on the American social scene.

NO book could be more timely. Circumstances have put the United States in a position of power that very few other nations have ever occupied. The Americans are the world's new leaders. What sort of a people are they, then, who have such opportunities and such responsibilities? Mr. Gorer is the man to tell us.

Mr. Gorer's first chapter is called Europe and the Rejected Father. It explains the attitude of so many Americans towards the continent and the civilisation from which most of them originated. That attitude is one of conscious and constant rejection. Europe is the Father. The Father is the symbol of authority. Authority is bad.

The typical American is suspicious of government *qua* government. Hence the checks which they put on the agencies of government. Americans have no respect for persons of authority who command respect in other countries: Army officers, teachers, statesmen. Walt Whitman's injunction *Resist much, obey little* is otiose in the case of most Americans.

### Public service—archaic

When corruption is exposed in American government, no one is surprised. Americans do not expect anyone to enter government for anything other than personal advantage. The ideal of public service is archaic, a remnant of the European, a remnant of the aristocrat's ideal of *noblesse oblige*. Americans can feel awe towards things: the Flag, the Lincoln Memorial, the White House, for example, and even towards abstractions like Freedom and Democracy. But they can feel no awe towards persons. They relish backstairs news about exalted persons like the British Royal Family, because it reduces potentially awe-inspiring characters to the most human level. The President is "Harry"; General Eisenhower is "Ike"; even Stalin, when Americans liked him, was "Joe."

The rejection of authority, of the Americans, Cresset Press, 10s. 6d.

### "NEW LOOK" FOR PEACE

Nudists in convention in the USA, Have abolished all war. At least so they say,

though not by clever diplomatic moves, But simply by people not wearing clothes!

They say the fault is all mother Eve's, With her "New Look" of green fig leaves.

Wars are not caused by armament makers, Bad bankers, politicians or Quakers. The chief enemies of peace, are TAILORS!

Yes, make poison gas which everyone loathes, But if you love peace, you must NOT make clothes!

But people have skins of different hue— There's yellow and white and black and blue.

So white could fight blue and black fight yellow— the blame laid on "the other fellow"—

And the earth laid bare by RACIAL wars. In the Nudist plea there are plenty of flaws!

All help is welcome in the cause of Peace, For China, India, Palestine and Greece.

But when next in conference Nudists meet— Though quite naked to the soles of their feet—

They might be of some use to Peace, If at least they PUT ON THEIR THINKING CAPS!

E.C.W.

Father, leads the Americans instead to exalt the Mother. Mr. Gorer calls his second chapter "Mother Land." Uncle Sam is not a symbol of America, but of the U.S. Government. The symbol of America is the Goddess of Liberty. She is America the Land of the Free, holding high her torch to illuminate the path to democracy, the Land of Opportunity, yielding her favours to those who are industrious and ingenious enough to deserve them.

The history of the Statue of Liberty is recalled for us by Mr. Gorer. This particular idol arrived



—Cartoon by Mays

in America in 1876 to mark the centenary of the USA as an independent nation. She was a gift from the people of France, and was designed by the Frenchman Auguste Bartholdi; as a model for the Goddess, he used his mother. The statue was set up on Bedloe Island outside the port of New York with her back to the land, facing the ocean, the first significant sight to greet the arriving immigrant or returning traveller. Inside her pedestal was inscribed a most beautiful and resounding promise of maternal solicitude and welcome, a promise which has been unfulfilled during the last twenty-odd years:—

"Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to be free, The wretched refuse of your teeming shore, Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me."

It is not like an American mother to be untrue to her word. Most American mothers are staunch moralists, and Mr. Gorer suggests that they instil into their sons a "feminine conscience"—a fact which may account for the moral and psychological instability of so many American males.

The power of women in America is a never-ending source of astonishment to visiting foreigners; the extent of divorce is one sign of women's power, the introduction of Prohibition was another. It has even been said that women own three quarters of the invested wealth of the United States.

From the American mother, Mr. Gorer turns his attention to the All-American child. Here, he explains, the repudiation of tradition is again a dominant social norm. Every American child must be scientifically reared.

"The American mother," he writes, "is always more or less anxious lest she make mistakes or forget part of the prescribed routine, anxious lest the baby should not

respond properly, often anxious lest she after all has chosen the wrong method. Usually, this anxiety does not show on the surface, but is transformed into a set of psychological symptoms which are technically known as compulsive."

Mr. Gorer goes on to show how this prevailing neurosis affects the attitude of so many Americans to the mouth and breasts; the centralisation of later erotic interest in both these organs, so peculiar to America, is due, he suggests, to anxiously systematic rearing of the All-American child.

On love and friendship, Mr. Gorer has nothing so sensational as Professor Kinsey to report. But he deals most ably with the curious American institution of "dating," a love game (played like chess) in which all the actions and words of love are exercised with no pretence of sincerity on either side. It is a game that normally stops short of natural consummation, as he understands it.

Politics and economics are less successfully treated in this book. Others have covered the field before, and it was not Mr. Gorer's intention to duplicate. In fact he offers only marginal observations, though all of them are very shrewd and witty.

Altogether this book is a joy to read. It is model of what a social survey should be. And it throws a bright light on the dark recesses of American psychology.

FRANCIS COTTON.

### GLIMPSES INTO CLOUD-CUCKOO-LAND

FINALLY, when the representatives of the Great Powers realised that it was useless to strive any longer to force their ideologies on each other, they all rose in a body and walked out of the Conference Chamber. Whereupon the various Ministers of War issued a Declaration to the peoples of the world.

Any agreement between the Great Powers on any subject whatsoever having been found to be beyond our skill and ingenuity (proclaimed the Ministers of War) it has been decided that we, your representatives, shall meet each other in mortal combat and fight to the death in the sacred cause of Liberty, Fraternity, Justice, Honour, Equality, Recovery, and the Nineteen Freedoms.

So on Wednesday (Early Closing Day), all the Dictators, Presidents, Prime Ministers, Marshals, Governors, and Commissars, together with their Cabinets and Advisers, armed themselves to the teeth with divers abominable weapons, and, with a song in their hearts, bravely rushed into the fray and slew each other to a man.

Thereupon the peoples of the world, greatly inspired by this act of selfless devotion by their late leaders, moved freely from place to place, exchanging food, offering and accepting drink, gaily waving to each other, dancing, singing, inter-marrying, ringing bells, and riding bicycles in all directions without let or hindrance.

—Lane Norcott, *Daily Mail*, August 19, 1948.

## PEACE PLAYS ON THE RADIO

### I. The Unknown Warrior

SINCE was first performed in 1914, the Unknown Warrior has persistently disappointed producers and actors, lost money, displeased audiences and called forth the sillier remarks of the critics. But it has never been forgotten.

The Third Programme was defeated too, I fear; but with honour, with a trumpet and a drum or two. I fancy the main fault lay with Mr. King Bull's production, which was not always very sensitive and sometimes unready to trust its medium; though its qualities were often high. Perhaps Mr. King Bull was unwise, in the third and weakest act, to depart so far from the acting-versions generally used on the stage. Here the text, however nearly it was Raynal's own, was often confused and blurred; though I think this was no reason for throwing away so much of the human aspect of the play's last forty minutes. In the first act there was some quite unforgivably bad hurrying, gabbling, "flattening" of lines, and (this in the second act too) obvious terror of allowing one instant's silence to point the author's and actor's eloquence. This is not the dialogue of Maugham or Coward; between its lines is not to be glimpsed the void, but the souls of the characters. I suspect there was too little rehearsal-time. These are not parts which actors can "slip into"; the souls of these men and this woman have first to be discovered by the actors within the text, then re-discovered to the listener by the way that text is treated.

The part of the Father is admittedly difficult; but I do not see that Mr. Austin Trevor lessened the difficulties by using every means, even to the clipped speech of a comic colonel, to alienate rather than enhance our sympathy; and surely we have all been listening for too many years to be any longer persuaded that shouting indicates depth of emotion.

I felt that Mr. Anthony Jacob's very likeable performance as the Soldier was spoilt by his producer, who gave him no time to discover himself to us; and also by a quite remarkable ability to make dull and insignificant statements of lines charged with point and feeling. His warmth and youth and charm needed, if only for the story's sake, to be tempered by irony and disillusionment, even by anger against heaven; we must know

that, in a few weeks, experience has made a man of a boy. But irony, part of the every-day emotional tone of France, does not perhaps come easily to us. Otherwise, however, Mr. Jacob's performance was on a very high level indeed. The exigencies of the part are immense; Mr. Jacobs not only overcame them but did so with an intelligence, a heart, and finally a vitality of voice which two hours of almost unbroken dialogue hardly diminished.

This was distinguished broadcasting. So was Miss Rachel Gurney's performance as Aude. Actresses who play this part must err, it seems, either on the side of immaturity or that of maturity; again, perhaps Raynal asks too much here: this child who is so much a woman does not exist as a consistent being, only at fleeting moments. Miss Gurney's voice and feeling did not always suggest so few years as Aude's twenty. It is the preferable bias. And what a rarely beautiful voice hers is; and how deep, broad and tender is her feeling! Of the three characters this, probably the most difficult, was the most wholly, roundly and convincingly conceived and presented. This Aude lived and breathed; one could have described her looks and gestures, to hear her was to see her; and one knew what she meant to the Soldier.

It was an enterprising broadcast; and largely an honest one; perhaps an important one. Yet I am still wondering how any performance of this tragedy can fail to bring tears to one's eyes, if only because "The subject of it is War, and the pity of War"; but the broadcast did fail. Perhaps our hearts have been hardened since Raynal wrote this play a quarter of a century ago. If so, the worse for us.

R. H. WARD.

### II. For Services Rendered

"IN my twenties," Somerset Maugham wrote in his autobiography, "the critics said I was brutal, in my thirties they said I was flip-pant; in my forties they said I was cynical; in my fifties they said I was competent, and now in my sixties they say I am superficial."

In a sense, perhaps, most of these epithets apply to most of Maugham's work; they all apply to *For Services Rendered*, his war play. The critics hated *For Services Rendered*; so did the public. Maugham, who cherished this play especially because of its singular truth, resolved after its failure never to write another. He is not a vain man. But the insensitive hostility of the public to this play moved him as Hardy was moved by a similar reaction to *Jude the Obscure*. He was silenced by the shock of learning how people hate the truth.

The BBC broadcast *For Services Rendered*, but not until they had put a bumptious Ulster Tory on the air to sneer at it. That was a subtle repudiation. Still, it was played, and well played. Val Gielgud's production was timed and managed as only he can do it, and Cynthia Pughe adapted the play with a nice regard for its finer points.

Anyone who missed this remarkable broadcast would do well to read the play. It is a picture of the effect of war on a character, with every sham and sentimental thing stripped from it.

FRANCIS COTTON



"Peace News was the only English newspaper available to us in 1946 and the only paper which dared criticise Allied policy and appeal for justice," Theodore Michaltscheff writes in his report on the German Section of the War Resisters' International.

## OUR TASK IN GERMANY

THE German War Resisters' Movement grew out of the ruins—both material and moral—of post-war Germany. It is therefore no wonder that it still bears traces of its origin. It is still a comparatively small movement, but it has latent possibilities of growth. Our task consists in turning these possibilities into realities.

Like all great suffering the last war had a purifying effect on the German people; it had practically cured them of their warlike and chauvinistic spirit. By the end of the war 90-95 per cent. of the German people, at least in the devastated parts of the country, hated war and National Socialism and were inwardly prepared to accept democracy with all its implications. The horrible experience of total war had taught them that war was no means for solving any problem whatever, and they were quite keen on trying new ways. Had the Allies given them a chance at the right moment, the German people might have risen to the occasion and taken the lead towards freedom, peace and democracy. The Allies, however, chose to punish indiscriminately the entire German people, regardless of actual guilt or innocence, and thus thwarted their spiritual development.

The prospect of a large pacifist movement was smashed to pieces. We are trying to bring together what might have been a spontaneous, large and strong war resisters' movement but is now a small and weak one. We do not lose heart. National Socialism has taught us patience and steadfastness even in the face of hell, and this lesson will stand us in good stead also in the face of arbitrary occupation.

### FIRST CONTACTS

The first stone of the new German war resisters' movement was laid on May 26, 1945, a fortnight after the capitulation of Germany, when the non-fraternisation order was already in full swing. On that day a message was sent to the headquarters of the War Resisters' International in Britain by the present secretary of the German Section:

"Having experienced all the horrors and atrocities of the air-raids and the war, I am more than ever convinced that not only is war a crime, but it is the greatest and most abominable crime against humanity in general and against the soul of man in particular. I hope, however, that suffering has taught people to hate war, and to believe in and strive towards universal peace and brotherhood."

An answer to this message came a few months later through a member of one of the Friends' Ambulance Units admitted into Germany for the purpose of doing relief work. The first attempt to reassemble our thinned and scattered forces began, however, in November, 1945, when the first



### THE SEED OF THE CHURCH

By F. A. Lea

In his latest book, the Editor of PEACE NEWS undertakes a critical evaluation of modern ideologies—including Freudism, Nazism and Marxism—in the light of traditional Western theology; and Western theology in the light of modern ideologies.

Published Aug. 26, 10s. 6d. net.

At all Booksellers and Libraries.

HEPPARD PRESS

International Voluntary Service for Peace team, with Basil Eastland at its head, arrived in Hamburg, and the first gatherings of German and British pacifists were initiated.

Similar contacts between English and German friends were made in other towns of the British Zone as well, but there was no link whatever between the widely scattered German war resisters themselves. This was effected by and thanks to the untiring endeavours of Grace Beaton, International Secretary in England, who put German friends of different towns in touch with one another.

This initial work of the German movement was substantially helped by headquarters of the WRI not only by putting individual German friends into touch with one another, but also by sending considerable supplies of WRI literature in English and Esperanto. "Twenty years Work in the WRI," "Four Years of War," "The War Resister," "Resistance in Denmark," "Resistance in Norway," etc., proved extremely helpful, seeing that we were absolutely lacking in war resister literature. Very valuable service was also rendered to us by Peace News, which was sent at first in single copies, then in parcels of five, to be increased gradually to 10, 25, 50, 75, 100, and at last 150 copies.

The effect of this literature can be realised only in the light of the then prevailing conditions in Germany. The non-fraternisation, it is true, had relaxed a little in the course of time

but it was still in force. Germany was still cut off from the rest of the world, and no correspondence with foreign countries was allowed.

There was no English paper on the German market, and the only source of information was the German radio and press, carefully censored by the Military Government. Peace News was therefore the only English paper available to us and the only paper which dared criticise the arbitrary allied policy towards outcast Germany and to appeal for justice. It was greatly sought after, and we could have sold hundreds of copies in Hamburg alone, notwithstanding the fact that it was sold more or less secretly.

The first actual attempt at co-operation among German war resisters—both individuals and groups—and at the co-ordination of their activities with a view to forming a German Section of the WRI was made in the autumn of 1946. This led to the publication of a monthly duplicated bulletin by the Hamburg group, the first number of which appeared in Feb. 1947. In its March number the suggestion was brought forward that an all-German WRI conference should be held in Hamburg in June, 1947.

Of the work done since June, 1947, by the German Section as such, six things are outstanding:

- The organising of international correspondence;
  - The meeting of the group secretaries at Dortmund in Dec., 1947;
  - The publication of Der Friedensbote;
  - The campaign for anti-conscription legislation;
  - The second Annual Conference at Stuttgart, and
  - The revival of the Grenztreffen.
- Grenztreffen means Frontier-gathering. Before 1933 such gatherings

AT the first post-war conference of the War Resisters' International held at Shrewsbury recently reports were received of the work of the movement in many countries.

Extracts from these reports will be published in Peace News in forthcoming issues. Next week: Italy.

By Theodore Michaltscheff

were held alternately on German, Dutch, Belgian and French territory, near the meeting point of the frontiers of the four countries not far away from Aachen. These frontier-gatherings, like all pacifist activities, were forbidden by Hitler. They are to be revived now and Aachen is again taking the lead. Similar gatherings are planned also in the north between German and Scandinavian friends, in the south-west between German, Swiss and French friends and in the south between friends from Bavaria and Austria, with a prospect of extending the gatherings so as to embrace Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Eastern countries. When the world situation has calmed down again and a chance of co-operation with Poland and Russia is created, we will do our best to extend the frontier-gatherings to that part of the world, too. The object of these frontier-gatherings is to promote mutual understanding and reconciliation among neighbouring peoples by means of direct personal contact.

### OUT OF THE ASHES

The German war resisters' movement arose out of a heap of ashes, but not out of its own ashes like the Phoenix of old, but out of the ashes of Germany. This explains many of its shortcomings. On the other hand, fire having a purifying and ashes a fertilising effect, we do hope that they will prove their worth in respect of the German movement, too, by purifying and fertilising it.

Dr. Martin Niemöller

## THE FIFTEEN HUNDRED CALORY MAN

● From Page One

The new man, then, is in process of creation, and it may well be that there is a real need for him in order that a remnant at least of European history and culture may flourish in the centre of Europe to serve as a bridge into an uncertain future. Without the new man, the future might have no link with the past, no roots to any tradition, and no possibility therefore of directing itself towards a recognisable goal.

It is difficult to say more about the new man, since he is still going through the process of evolution. But one thing must be considered: is there any assurance that the new Central European man will remain a man? It may well be that in some quite unexpected way the Fifteen Hundred Calory Man will lose his human character, just as wheat, in the same unfavourable conditions, decays to a sort of grass. Any keen observer must recognise that this is a real danger to be watched for.

### NIHILISM IN GERMANY

We speak nowadays in Germany of nihilism—not that we discern any particular philosophy of the world and of life; on the contrary, we find rather a complete absence of philosophy, and no grasp of the position of the human person in relation to the world and to life, an absolute indifference to what is happening has happened and will happen. All the physical and psychological strength of the people is absorbed in the struggle for self-preservation, and all the responses apart from that instinct are decayed or atrophied. Doubtless things are not yet at the point where all sense of responsibility will disappear, but it is impossible to ignore the tendency of actual evolution, in spite of all the efforts that have gone to promote the idea of "moral reconstruction."

One thing that survives in the Central European man is his gregarious instinct and it is this which forms a last bastion against the disintegration of society, because it makes it possible to maintain some natural solidarity even though the sense of personal responsibility is

gone. Yet the final outcome of this development looks grim and forbidding, for eventually it can only cast the individual into isolation and solitude.

This bleak prospect already looms up with sinister clarity before our eyes today. There can be no doubt about it: we are at the limit of what we can call human, according to our established ideas and images. The new nihilist is not human and neither is he animal, for a man who has lost his human character does not thus become simply an animal—he becomes another being, strange and unknowable. We cannot speak of him as we speak of sub-men—demons and devils—for these would be the wrong words, too. We lack words adequate to the dimensions of the present context, words that might express our anxiety in the face of the new development. Our anxiety arises, less from the thought that a new being is emerging than from the vision of ourselves being hurled, with all that makes life worth living for us, into the same terrible abyss.

It is thus that the danger of nihilism oppresses us, and here it is not in any way limited to Europe, but extends over vast areas of our shrinking planet. At any time, we feel, it may grow into a whirlwind that will seize and devour everything before it. It points, in my opinion, to the end of humanity and the end of the world.

The Church of Jesus Christ, if it is really the Church of Christ, must not allow itself to be dismayed by this prospect; for it brings nothing which has not been proclaimed to us and for which we have not been prepared. Iniquity increases; the charity of an ever great number grows colder; people become enemies of one another, and they consume themselves in fear and apprehension of what is coming to the earth.

But the Church of Jesus Christ, if it is really the Church of Christ, will answer the appeal that will come to it out of all this anguish: "Lift up your heads for your salvation cometh." And in the present situa-

tion, the Church must not ignore the new developments, but must recognise behind all the obvious dangers of the nihilistic evolution, the invisible distress of those souls which sigh for the help of Jesus. She will hear, beyond all the loud cries that rise from hell, the silent sigh of the creature who hungers and thirsts for the love of God.

It is just at this moment that she must refuse to stand idly with folded arms. For what will then be happening before our eyes and ears will proclaim to us: "The time is come: the Kingdom of God is at hand."

What calls out for the aid and intervention of Christianity in the present crisis is not the danger that the evolution of the New Man represents, but the distress of men who cannot any longer be men because they do not know that they are the children of God. It is this that calls for the witness of the Church, the witness of fellow men who know the name of God and are called by that to their responsibility.

### HIS NEED

This then is the need of the Fifteen Hundred Calory Man (and not only in Central Europe), the sceptic and the nihilist; this alone may save him and restore to him his dignity and responsibility. It is this witness, a witness worthy of the occasion and of that love of God which does not cease with a minimum diet of twenty-four hundred calories, but which, through the Cross of Jesus Christ, has descended to all the imaginable abysses of misery and human distress to seek and guide His lost children back to safety. The world has a crying need today, has had a need and always will have a need as long as one can speak of "today"—not only for programmes and policies of different sorts, but above all for the witness in words and action which Christianity can bear to the infinite love of God through Christ.

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## Intellectuals from East and West talk peace in Poland

IN the Polish city of Wroclaw, which was once the German city of Breslau, artists, writers and scientists from France, Russia, Poland and Great Britain are meeting today to discuss the possibility of peace between East and West.

Britain's delegation, which left by special plane on Tuesday, includes Sir John Boyd Orr, Mr. Olaf Stapledon, Mr. Richard Hughes, Mr. Kingsley Martin (editor of the New Statesman), and Mr. Edward Crankshaw of the Observer. Other delegates include Professor J. B. S. Haldane, Professor Bernal, the Dean of Canterbury and the Hon. Ivor Montagu.

France has a more representative delegation, including Julien Benda, Le Corbusier, Duhamel, Vercors, Eluard, Andre David and Madame Joliot Curie. Picasso, the Spanish painter, also accepted an invitation.

The Congress, sponsored by a Franco-Polish committee, will discuss whether it is not possible to find a basis upon which the intellectuals of the world can work together regardless of the economic and social regime under which they live; they will discuss what contribution their professions can make to the cause of peace and international understanding.

## HALF BRITAIN'S COs ARE RELIGIOUS PACIFISTS

MORE than half the applications for registration as conscientious objectors last year were based on religious grounds, Fenner Brockway states in the annual report of the Central Board for COs published this week. Only five per cent were pacifists "on humanitarian or ethical" grounds, and another five per cent on political grounds.

The proportion of COs continues to fall. This year it is 0.15 per cent of the registrations; the proportion of the total registration since 1939 is 0.75 per cent. Altogether 68,400 men and 2,555 women have registered as conscientious objectors since 1939. Tribunals have recognised that 70 per cent of these objections were valid, but about 4,000 pacifists have gone to prison under the National Service Acts.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

## MEETINGS

MICHAEL TIPPETT will welcome guests at PPU London Area Garden Party, King Alfred's School, North End Rd., N.W.11, Saturday, Aug. 28, 3 p.m. Competitions, fortune telling, games for the children, and buy stall, music, tea, entrance 1s., children 6d. (Party indoors if wet).

WALLACE HANCOCK on "The Personal Challenge to Personal Christians," Wed., Sept. 1, 7 p.m. Taylor, 389a London Road, North Cheam (Queen Victoria Bus Stop).

## ACCOMMODATION

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Room Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. Ladlow, The Briars, Crich, Mat. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

## EVERYBODY'S AND THE PPU

EVERYBODY'S last week criticised the Peace Letter sent by Reginald Sorensen and forty-four other MP's to Mr. Bevin and at the same time attacked the PPU.

The Peace Letter was described as "still another example of that woolly-mindedness which is our bane. Just as the Peace Pledge Union, which did so much to undermine our strength in pre-war years, sarily demanded action from an unarmed nation, so do these misguided politicians—unwittingly maybe—urge capitulation and appeasement when challenged by an Asiatic tyranny such as the world has never known. In view of what has transpired, to re-open discussions without incontrovertible safeguards, is capitulation; to give an inch more western territory, is appeasement. From these twin evils will spring ten thousand more, and if we yield, our children's children may live to curse a spineless generation."

The comment is interesting, especially as it comes from a newspaper which cultivates the Buchmanite theory of Moral Re-armament.

The PPU has advocated "action from an unarmed nation" only in the sense of non-violent action.

The forty-four MP's do not ask for "appeasement" (an emotional word which has lost descriptive meaning) but a new approach to Russia in a spirit of reconciliation.

And what is this "Asiatic" tyranny? The Russian strength is far more European than Asiatic: Communism is a European ideology, and it is spreading to Asia only after securing itself in Europe. "Asiatic" is a false panic-word which obscures clear thinking. Everybody's falls short of its ideals in using this cheap rhetorical language.

ONE hundred British ex-Servicemen have been selected to help construct the 1,500-mile rocket range in Australia.

It will be their job to design and put up the firing pits from which super-V2s will one day be launched.

They know they have to work fast. Britain's research on guided missiles—now a corner stone of national and imperial defence—is being held up for lack of long-range facilities. . . .

—Daily Express, August 18, 1948

In any future war our people at home must be prepared to face great physical dangers and many heavy blows delivered by enemy air attack. . . . The scientists have not so far provided a single new weapon of defence.

—FIELD MARSHALL MONTGOMERY. Daily Express, Aug. 18, 1948.

In his final report as Chief of the United States Air Force, General Spaatz states that American Air Force scientists are working on a supersonic guided missile capable of carrying an atomic warhead 5,000 miles. General Spaatz said: "Since

## Pacifist Profiles

THE youngest member of the International Council of the War Resisters' International is the Australian representative, G. Anthony Bishop. He is thirty. Two years ago Tony Bishop became editor of our Australian contemporary, The Peacemaker, and this has already earned him a reputation among pacifists throughout the world.

This summer he is in England for the WRI conference. Recently he has been visiting different European countries as part of world tour on behalf of The Peacemaker and the Federal Peace Council of Australia, of which he is President in Melbourne.

Tony Bishop is not by birth an Australian. He is a native of London, and was taken to Australia when he was five. When he left school he entered the New South Wales Public Service.

As early as 1937 Tony Bishop joined the pacifist movement. He was a foundation member of the Australian Peace Pledge Union when it was launched in Sydney.

"I first became a pacifist," he has said, "through contact with pacifist ministers of the Congregational Church, friends in the Christian Socialist movement and my general reading about that time."

When war broke out, Tony Bishop was working in the petty sessions branch of the Department of Justice.

He refused, in 1940, to take the oath of enlistment, and was accordingly prosecuted in 1941. His was regarded as a test case for the Commonwealth. When the Federal Government agreed to recognise war resistance, Tony Bishop resigned from the Department of Justice and went to live in a community settlement in a Melbourne slum.

In 1942 he decided he could no



G. ANTHONY BISHOP

longer remain in his Church. He had become an agnostic. Nevertheless he worked with an Anglican order, the Brotherhood of St. Laurence, in social service activities. He refused alternative national service, but was allowed to continue his social work.

The Federal Pacifist Council of Australia was formed as the result of Tony Bishop's efforts among others, and he was appointed as the Council's second general secretary. He also worked as secretary to the Australian PPU in Melbourne from 1941 until 1945, and as a CO adviser for Victoria.

During his stay in England, Tony Bishop has been working at the WRI headquarters in Enfield. At the Shrewsbury conference he was one of the most vigorous and energetic delegates. He plans to go back to Australia this autumn.

## ROCKETS

there is no existing defence against this type of weapon it is essential that the United States should be the first nation to develop it."

—Sunday Times, August 22, 1948

Airman-scientist Charles Lindbergh says in his new book, "Of Flight and Life": With science, the Germans felt they could be supermen. They set up science as a god and science destroyed them.

—Daily Express, Aug. 19, 1948.

On Sept. 3, ninth anniversary of the last war declaration, the RAF and USAAF will begin the biggest air exercises since VE Day.

The main bomber attacks will be made on objectives in the London area, and all "Northland's" air and ground defences will be brought into operation against heavy attacks launched by the enemy, "Southland."

The "enemy" forces will have the assistance of the American bomber units. The exercises will last four days.

—Daily Herald, August 17, 1948

Here is a date to write down. Jan. 1, 2002. That will be a great day for Britain. For then this country should be free at last of the dollar debt incurred since the end of World War II.

—Daily Express, Aug. 20, 1948.

Men born between July 1 and Sept. 30, 1930, both dates inclusive, must register under the National Service Acts on Sept. 4.

—Daily Herald, August 20, 1948

Speaking at the International Mental Health Congress in London, Mrs. Margaret Mead, the American anthropologist, commented on the Dyak head-hunters in Malaya. Asked whether the British people would have a collective guilt about sending Dyak head-hunters to Malaya to hunt the Communists and whether it was not inconsistent for the country which was the host of a congress of this kind, she said that using Dyaks who enjoyed head-hunting was no worse than sending white troops who had been brought up to regard killing as wrong.

"I spent years among these tribes trying to persuade them that head-hunting was wrong," she said, "and then we turned loose amongst them a war with white men's weapons. It must have confused them. What's wrong isn't head-hunting, it's war; and that is what this congress is all about."

—News Chronicle, Aug. 14, 1948.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

STUDENT AND wife (pacifist), urgently require unfurnished accommodation in Lancaster District. Box 936.

SMALLHOLDING WITH Bungalow or 3 acres with cottage; Building site with shack or Plot with shed, required in Surrey, Sussex, Kent, by desperate London couple. £300 cash and mortgage up to £1,200 (4½ per cent. if private loan) or would rent up to £3 10s. week. All letters answered. Suggestions and advice appreciated. Box 933.

LADY REQUIRES unfurnished room, London outskirts, West or North preferred. Box 938.

COTTAGE OR self-contained accommodation to rent wanted. Will work as farm hand or handyman, preferably part-time, if required. Alfred Newman, Painscastle, Bulth, Breconshire.

EX-PSU and FRS member (married) needs unfurnished rooms/flat London area. John Armstrong, 94B Westwood Hill, S.E.26.

## EDUCATIONAL

CORRESPONDENCE AND visit lessons, speaking and writing (5s.). Classes, Tuesdays, Wednesdays. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRI. 5686.

## FOR SALE & WANTED

REBILIX MUST buy typewriters. We arrange advertisements and pay good commissions to any contacts in provinces who will forward replies. Full details from Rebilix Typewriter Co. Ltd., 661 London Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

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## LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Nuston Rd., London.

NORTH LONDON readers are reminded that the Bookstall at Peace News office carries an interesting selection of topical books and pamphlets. Visitors to the office are always welcome: hours 9.30 to 6 o'clock, Wednesday evenings up to 9 o'clock. Our premises are above Fish and Cook, stationers, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

"ATOM ARP is Tragic Folly"—the answer to those preparing for another war—a leaflet by Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS.DSc. Broadcast them now, 1s. 6d. 10s. 15s. 1,000, post free, from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

F. A. LEA, "Seed of the Church," will be published on Aug. 26 (Shepard Press, 10s. 6d.); order now from Housmans, 124 Shaftesbury Ave., W.1, or any other bookseller.

## PERSONAL

PUBLICISE PACIFISM by passing on your PN every week when read. Introductory leaflets for enclosure, news wrappers — and addresses too (if you cannot compile your own list) available on request. There is an urgent need that every copy should be put to the maximum propaganda use. Please write to Circulation Manager, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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## Britain — the new cockpit?

### COMMENTARY CONTINUED

for another, few of them visualised that three years after the war the shadow of that other tyranny would cast a darker shadow over Europe than Nazi Germany cast in 1939.

When pacifists maintained that a war for democracy was a contradiction in terms, few could have foreseen the rapid extent of the collapse of democratic government over Europe, or the strains, political and economic, that surviving democracies would have to bear.

Pacifist prophecy included the decline and fall of the British Empire. It did not include the spectacle of a Labour Government attempting to resist that inevitable collapse by all the means of nineteenth century imperialism, including a Brigade of Guards and the importation of Dyak head-hunters.

### "Balance of Power" today

IT is clear, too, that pacifist warnings of the diplomatic unsoundness of Britain's war policy have been justified by events.

Pacifists, of course, never supported the Balance of Power theory, which has been responsible for so much conflict and misery in Europe: but it was legitimate to point out that judged even by this doubtful British tradition, the Churchill policy of unconditional surrender was fundamentally disastrous. Historically, it has always been Britain's aim to ally herself with the second strongest European power against the strongest: until after victory, when she has often joined the defeated power against her former ally, to preserve the balance. Such a policy requires that defeat should never become annihilation, lest there is no "second strongest power" with which to ally.

That is precisely what has happened. Germany, in Viscount Montgomery's elegant phrase, has been "hit for six," and Russia reigns supreme in Europe. The conqueror Britain finds herself an isolated island on the edge of a decimated continent. It is the realisation of her position, self-achieved, which has led to notions of a European union on a military basis, and to the belated discovery that the Germans are, after all, a Christian people, and therefore potential allies, though of an inferior sort, in the next war for democracy. The Balance of Power today is a world-

wide concept, not a European one, and Britain's role is likely to be not, as in the past, a protagonist, but merely one of the battlefields.

### Postscript or Prelude?

ALMOST every political event today is an ironical footnote to the hopes and declarations of the past few years, while the lurid sensationalism of the whole contemporary political context, with its abductions in America, damsels in distress in Sweden, and street fights in Berlin, forms a sardonic postscript to an era of political fantasy—or is it rather the prelude to another? The comic opera atmosphere is tragic reality to far too many innocent and suffering souls.

The final truth that pacifists were compelled to proclaim was that the war-time unity of the Allies was a mythical and unreal thing, based as it was merely on a common enemy, and unlikely to survive the overthrow of Germany. The unity survived to enable the victorious armies to enter Berlin: it is now in Berlin that the last shreds of unity are being destroyed.

Much as I deplore the criminal stupidity of the Russian part in the Berlin crisis, I find it impossible to work up any moral indignation about British and American rights. The only rights that deserve to be considered are those of the Berliners themselves, and, inevitably, it is the citizens of the capital who suffer most from the squabbles of their conquerors. Bernard Shaw, in his letter to The Times, does well to remind the world of the obvious but often overlooked fact that Britain, Russia, the USA and France have no "divine right" to be in Berlin:

"We are there as invaders and conquerors, as Mahomet and Joshua were in Palestine and William the Conqueror in England. There is nothing to prevent all or any of us from withdrawing from Berlin if such a re-arrangement should seem expedient. Such withdrawals can be ranked as defeats only if they are fought for instead of negotiated."

That last sentence could be applied to many other circumstances, too. But the former allies, having overcome Germany, seem determined to woo her by trying to overcome each other.

### Food and War

IN this situation, pacifists can only continue to reiterate the old truths, while the leaders of men, apparently, can only continue to repeat the old follies.

The two essential problems of the world today concern food and war. Each of these represents a distinct problem in itself. A vastly increased world production of food is essential if mass famine and social collapse on an unprecedented scale are to be averted in the comparatively near future. War must be abolished, at any cost, if what remains of civilisation is to survive. Either of these problems, if unsolved, will destroy social life as we know it. These facts are widely admitted to be more important than any other facts. For example, the report of the Lambeth Conference states:

"Peace is no longer merely desirable; it is an absolute necessity. The issue is a matter of sheer survival. If we do not survive, other mundane matters are of no moment."

"Other mundane matters," it should be noted, include the nature of Russian "Communism," the preservation of the Empire and the protection of vital interests. But the problems of food and war are not only separate: they are inter-related. If we succeed in making war impossible there is a chance, just a chance, that we shall manage to solve the food problem, after intense toil and endeavour. But preparation for war followed by conflict will inevitably entail the secondary disaster of famine in accentuated form following the primary disaster of war.

### Where to hear PPU speakers

Finsbury Park, Sundays at 11 a.m.  
Finsbury Square Fountain, Wednesdays 1-2 p.m.  
Hyde Park, Sundays at 6.30 p.m.  
Lincoln's Inn Fields, Thursdays at 1 p.m. Speaker: Sybil Morrison.  
Tower Hill, Mondays 1-2 p.m. Speaker: Bryan Anstey.  
Willesden (Wendover Road, Jubilee Clock), Wednesday, Sept. 8 and 22, at 8 p.m.

## UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

### PPU Plan London Week

A LONDON PEACE WEEK, CALLING FOR UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT, IS BEING PLANNED BY THE LONDON AREA COUNCIL OF THE PPU FOR THE WEEK OF SEPT. 26 TO OCT. 1. IT IS HOPED THAT THIS WILL DEVELOP INTO A NATION WIDE CAMPAIGN.

### The Purge

### FDC OUTLINES ITS ATTITUDE

The Freedom Defence Committee has called for a reform of the secret method by which Civil Servants and other persons are being discharged from Government employment because of alleged Communism or Fascism.

Unlike the National Council for Civil Liberties, which has called for the suppression of all Fascists and unlimited freedom for all Communists, the Freedom Defence Committee has recognised that a government's actions must be dictated by its political and social responsibilities.

The following statement has been issued:—

The Freedom Defence Committee, having observed the manner in which the investigation of the political records of members of the Civil Service accused of Communist or Fascist affinities is being carried out, believes that additional safeguards are essential if the risk of injustice is to be reduced to a minimum.

We would emphasise that we do not consider it our function to make any criticism of the actual dismissal or transference of employees whom the Government thinks undesirable. Unless one is prepared to deny the principle of government, it is impossible to contest the right of the administration to choose its employees and reject those whose activities seem to endanger it. For this reason we consider that the general issue is a political one which this Committee, under its constitution, cannot discuss.

### AMENDMENTS

We advocate the following amendments to the method of procedure:

- The individual whose record is being investigated should be permitted to call a trade union or other representative to speak on his behalf.
- All Allegations should be required to be substantiated by corroborative evidence, this being particularly essential in the case of allegations made by representatives of MI5 or the Special Branch of Scotland Yard, when the sources of information are not revealed.
- The Civil Servant concerned, or his representative, should be allowed to cross-examine those giving evidence against him.

The statement bears the following signatures:

Gerald Brennan  
Fenner Brockway  
Alex Comfort  
Rhys J. Davies  
E. M. Forster  
Victor Gollancz  
B. H. Liddell Hart  
C. E. M. Joad  
Augustus John  
Harold J. Laski  
Henry Moore  
Stuart Morris  
J. Middleton Murry  
George Orwell  
S. Vera Pearson  
R. S. W. Pollard  
D. S. Savage  
Osbert Sitwell  
Dinah Stock  
Julian Symons  
Michael Tippett  
Wilfred Wellock  
J. Allen Skinner  
Herbert Read

### MICHAEL TIPPETT TO OPEN GARDEN PARTY

MICHAEL TIPPETT is to open the London Area PPU Garden Party on Aug. 28. Members and friends are promised a lively and interesting time with sideshows, competitions, games for the children—it is hoped there will be many present—music and tea. Several well-known authors have presented signed copies of their books for sale for the Area funds. The party will take place in the pleasant grounds of King Alfred School, North End Road, Golders Green and will open at 3 p.m. Inside accommodation will be available if it rains. Entrance 1s. Children 6d.

Another garden party, given by the Holloway Meeting of the Society of Friends, is to have a production of the play "Tribunal," by Bryan Anstey and Roy Walker, which was produced at the Kingsway Hall Party last Christmas. Members who missed seeing it then and would like to do so should write to Queenie Bowyer, 15 Bedford Road, Letchworth, Herts., who is arranging the Holloway Garden Party. Derek Kartun, Foreign Editor of the Daily Worker, will be the speaker at the next meeting of the London Area Council, on Sept. 5, at 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. The meeting will start at 3 p.m. At 4.30 p.m. there will be a break for an American tea and at 5 p.m. Derek Kartun will speak on the international situation and the hopes for peace. All are welcome. G.A.

PPU Groups will be co-ordinating their public activity and it is anticipated that people in all London districts will have a special opportunity to hear the message of the Peace Pledge Union.

Additional open-air meetings to those listed below will take place during that week, while other indoor public meetings will also be arranged.

Loud-speaker vans, poster-parades, decorated vehicles, letters to the local and national press are among the mediums suggested for publicising this new campaign.

A new pamphlet: "The PPU—Your Questions Answered," is in course of preparation. A special issue of Peace News will also be prepared for the occasion.

Further information will gladly be supplied by the Area Organiser, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. EUS. 5501.

### A LONG LIFE OF SERVICE FOR PEACE

Mrs. Gertrude Edmonds of Jordan's Village in Bucks recently died when nearing eighty years of age. A member of the PPU since its earliest days, Mrs. Edmonds by her staunch pacifism and her ardent rebel spirit has been an inspiration to local members and to all who knew her. Throughout the war there was no compromise, no hesitancy.

For some years she has not been able to go far from her home, but that house was always available for Group meetings, there always was the cheerful kindly greeting, and the warm encouragement of uncompromising pacifism or of some truly Christian proposal.

Every good rebel cause had an advocate in Mrs. Edmonds. . . the "Famine over Europe" campaign, when it was not as popular as "Save Europe Now" is today, helping the Basque children, welcoming to her home the children evacuated from London, the campaign for the abolition of the death penalty, and always and above all the fight against conscription and war.

Along with this consistent support of struggling causes went continual unobtrusive acts of neighbourly help to those in need of physical aid or moral support. How many German PoWs who stayed at the nearby Wilton Park Camp will always remember with gratitude the evenings spent in the Edmonds' family circle: the charm and culture of it, yet the easy friendliness and absence of formality?

Mrs. Edmonds had an alert mind and a lively sense of humour. She was impatient with shams and insincerity, but warmly appreciative of efforts to further the causes which meant so much to her.

R.

### TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Aug. 27, 1938

A twenty-year-old South African war resister is referred to in a letter from Durban.

This young man, says the letter, "has served nearly two years in the Special Service Battalion. (This was created in the depression of 1929— young boys were told that if they joined up they would be trained and found a billet—they were paid a shilling a day, put under canvas, and given a rigid training. They have to report for five years and are looked upon as reservists.)"

"This young man quickly rose to be a sergeant."

"Things began to pall on him until one day at bayonet drill he was told to use some imagination and think of the sack as a human being and gouge out the man's bowels."

"He became convinced that it was all wrong, and came out, but he has to report each year. This is the second time he should report, but he feels he would be sinning if he did so."

The USA is supplying Japan, for use in her war against China, with: 60.5% of her imports in oil; 41% of her imports in pig iron; 59.7% of her imports in other kinds of iron; 92.9% of her imports in copper; 20% of her imports in zinc; 91.2% of her imports in automobiles and automobile parts. 48.5% of her imports of machinery of all kinds.

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